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1. On the 22nd of October, the Japanese Representative in the Council of the League of Nations proposed certain amendment to the Resolution then before the Council with regard to the two questions of (1) the withdrawal of the Japanese troops to the Railway Zone and (2) direct negotiations between China and Japan. However, these suggested amendments as well as the Resolution itself fell through, having failed to obtain the unanimous approval of the Council.

2. As has been repeatedly emphasized by the Japanese Government, the whole Manchurian affair was occasioned solely by the violent and provocative attack launched by the Chinese Army on the Railway Zone. Certain small contingents of Japanese soldiers still remaining at a few points outside that Zone are insistently demanded by the danger to which the large population of Japanese in that region are exposed in life and property. The presence of such a limited number of troops is quite incapable of being represented as a means of dictating to China Japan's terms for the settlement of the present difficulties. Nothing is further from the thoughts of Japan than to bring armed pressure to bear upon China in the course of these negotiations.

3. The Japanese Government have on various occasions given expression to their firm determination to suffer no abridgment or diminution of the rights and interests of Japan which are vital to her national existence, and which are woven into the complex fabric of her

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political and economic relations with China. Unfortunately, the so-called "recovery of rights" movements in China have recently attained extravagant developments, while feelings antagonistic to Japan have been openly encouraged in the text books used at various schools in China, and have become deeply seated in the Chinese mind. In defiance of treaties, and regardless of all history, a vigorous agitation has been carried on in China with the object of undermining the rights and interests of Japan, even the most vital. As things stand at present, the complete withdrawal of Japanese troops to the South Manchuria Railway Zone, under the mere assurance of the Chinese Government, would create an intolerable situation, exposing Japanese subjects to the gravest dangers. The risk of such dangers is clearly evidenced by past experience and by the conditions which actually obtain in China.

4. The Japanese Government are persuaded that in the present situation, the safety of Japanese subjects in Manchuria can hardly be ensured without provision being made to remove the national antipathies and suspicions existing in the mutual relations of the two Powers. With this end in view, they have already expressed, in the Note of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of October 9 to the Chinese Minister at Tokyo, their readiness to enter into negotiations with the Chinese Government on certain basic principles that should regulate the normal interrelationship between the two countries. That Note was communicated

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at the time to the Council of the League. Convinced that this method of procedure is alone calculated to open out a way to save the situation, the Japanese Government have consistently held to their proposals in that sense throughout the recent discussions at the Council of the League.

The basic principles which they have had in mind relate to:

- (1) Mutual repudiation of aggressive policy and conduct.
- (2) Respect for China's territorial integrity.
- (3) Complete suppression of all organized movements interfering with freedom of trade and stirring up international hatred.
- (4) Effective protection throughout Manchuria of all peaceful pursuits undertaken by Japanese subjects.
- (5) Respect for the treaty rights of Japan in Manchuria.

The Japanese Government believe that all these points, being in entire accord with the aims and aspirations of the League of Nations and embodying the natural basis upon which peace in the Far East must depend, will commend themselves to the approval of the public opinion of the world. The refusal by the Japanese representative to lay these points on the table of the Council was due to the consideration that they should, in their nature, properly form the subject of negotiations between the parties directly involved.

5. With the future welfare of both nations in mind, the Japanese Government feel that the urgent need at the present moment is to arrive at a solution of the problem by the co-operation of the two countries, and thus to seek the path of common happiness and prosperity. Their willingness

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remains unaltered and unabated to open negotiations with the Chinese Government on the subject of the basic principles above formulated relating to normal relations between Japan and China, and on the subject of the withdrawal of Japanese troops to the South Manchuria Railway Zone.

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CERTIFICATE OF SOURCE AND AUTHENTICITY

I, HAYASHI, Kaoru, who occupy the post of the Chief of the Archives of Foreign Office, hereby certify that the document hereto attached, written in Japanese and English consisting of J. 3 E. 4 pages and entitled "The Statement of the Japanese Government, Oct. 26, 1931" is an exact and authorized excerpt from an official document in the custody of Japanese Government (Foreign Office).

certified at Tokyo,

on this 26 day of July, 1947

/s/ HAYASHI, Kaoru
(seal)

I hereby certify that the above signature and seal were affixed hereto in the presence of the Witness.

at the same place,

on this same date

Witness: /s/ URABE, Katsumu
(seal)

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not used

文書ノ出所並ニ成立ニ關スル證明書 (三號)

自分林 檉ハ外務省文書課長ノ職ニ居ル者ナル處、茲ニ添附セラレタル日本語及ビ英語ニ依ツテ書カレ、日本語三頁ヨリ成ル滿洲事變ニ關スル帝國政府第二次聲明(昭和六年十月二十六日)ト題スル書類ハ日本政府(外務省)ノ保管ニ係ル公文書ノ正確ニシテ眞實ナル寫シナルコトヲ證明ス

昭和二十二年七月二十六日 於東京

林 檉 (林)

石署名捺印ハ自分ノ面前ニ於テ爲サレタリ

同日 於 同 所

立會人 滿 部 勝 馬 (馬部)

Ref Doc 1946

滿洲事變ニ關スル帝國政府第二次聲明

(昭和六年十月二十六日)

- 一 十月二十二日聯盟理事會ニ提出セラレタル帝國政府ノ滿鐵附屬地内歸還問題並日華直接交渉開始問題ニ關スル決議案ニ對シ日本理事會ハ數項ニ亘ル修正案ヲ提出シ十月二十四日採決ノ結果右修正案並決議案ハ孰レモ全會一致ヲ得ニシテ不成立ニ了レリ
- 二 今次ノ滿洲事變ハ全ク中國軍憲ノ挑發的行動ニ起因スルコト帝國政府ノ累次宣明セル所ニシテ帝國軍ノ少數部隊カ目下尙滿鐵附屬地外數ヶノ地點ニ駐マルハ帝國臣民ノ生命財産ノ保護ノ爲萬已ムヲ得サルニ出テタルモノナリ固ヨリ之カ爲ニ帝國カ紛爭解決條件ヲ中國ニ強制スルノ手段トナリ得ヘキモノニ非ス兵力的威壓ヲ以テ中國トノ交渉ニ臨マムトスルカ如キハ毫モ帝國政府ノ豫想セサル所ナリ
- 三 帝國政府ハ夙ニ日華關係ノ大局ヲ考察シ其ノ密接複雑ナル政治的並經濟的關係ヲ構成スル各種ノ分子中帝國ノ國民生存ニ關スル權益ハ絶對ニ之カ變改ヲ許ササルノ決意ヲ示シ既ニ各般ノ機會ニ於テ此ノ趣旨ヲ言明セリ不幸ニシテ近時中國ニ於ケル所謂國權回復ノ運動漸次極端ニ奔リ且排日ノ思

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想ハ諸學校ノ教科書中公然鼓吹セラレテ根底既ニ
深ク今ヤ條約又ハ歴史ヲ無視シテ帝國ノ國民的生
存ニ關スル權益サヘ著々破壊セントスル傾向歴然
タルモノアリ此ノ際帝國政府ニ於テ單ニ中國政府ノ
保障ニ倚賴シ軍兵ノ全部滿鐵附屬地内歸還ヲ行フ
カ如キハ事態ヲ更ニ惡化セシメ帝國臣民ノ安全ヲ
危險ニ暴露スルモノニシテ多年ノ歴史並中國現下
ノ國情ハ明カニ其ノ危險ノ實在ヲ證ス

四 從テ帝國政府ハ在滿洲帝國臣民ノ安全ヲ確保セ
ムカ爲ニハ先ツ兩國ノ國民的反應及疑惑ヲ除ク
ノ方法ヲ講スルノ外ナキヲ認メ之ニ必要ナル基礎
的大綱ヲ中國政府ト會商スルノ用意アル旨十月九
日外務大臣ノ在東京中國公使宛公文中ニ言明シ聯
盟理事會ニモ之ヲ通報セリ帝國政府ハ時局拾収ノ
途カ一ニ以上ノ見地ニ基クヘキコトヲ確信シ理事
會ノ討議ニ當リテ終始一貫之ヲ主張セリ其ノ會商
セントスル大綱トシテ帝國政府ノ考慮スル所ハ(一)
相互的侵略政策及行動否認、(二)中國領土保全ノ尊
重、(三)相互ニ通商ノ自由ヲ妨害シ及國際的憎惡ノ
念ヲ煽動スル組織的運動ノ徹底的取締、(四)滿洲ノ
各地ニ於ケル帝國臣民ノ一切ノ平和的業務ニ對ス
ル有效ナル保護及(五)滿洲ニ於ケル帝國ノ條約上ノ
權益尊重ニ關スルモノナリ帝國政府ハ右各項カ全

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然國際聯盟ノ目的及精神ニ合致シ恒久平和ノ根幹
ヲ成スヘキ當然ノ原則ナルヲ以テ固ヨリ世界公論
ノ支持ヲ待ヘキコトヲ疑ハス聯盟理事會ニ據テ帝
國代表者カ之ヲ議題トセザリシハ其ノ性質上日華
直接交渉ノ問題タルヘキコトヲ認タルカ爲ナリ

其 然ラ日華兩國ノ前途ヲ考フルニ今日ノ急務ハ雙
方協力シテ速カニ時局ノ拾敗ヲ圖リ以テ共存共榮
ノ大道ノ歩ヲ進ムルニ在リ帝國政府ハ前額兩國間
ニ於ケル平常關係確立ノ基礎的大綱協定問題並軍
隊ノ滿鐵附屬地内歸還問題ニ關シ中國政府ト商榷
ヲ開始スルノ用意ヲ有スルニ於テ今尙渝ハル所ナ
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